To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceyued Subiectes of the North Countrey, drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland.

Written by Thomas Norton.

Seen and allowed according to the Quenes Iniunctions.

ALbeit I knowe not by what name wel to call you, sithens you haue loste the iuste name of Englishmen by disturbing the common peace of Englande, with cruell inuasion and spoile like enimies: and the Quenes Subiectes ye can not well be named, hauing throwne away your due submission and obedience: and yet her Subiectes still must you be, and cannot enioy the name of laufull enimies, being vnder her highnesse authoritie of correction, not to be raunsomed, nor by the curtesie of Marshall lawe to be dealte with as iuste enimies: but to be executed as Traitours and Rebels: Christians I can not term you that haue defaced the Communion of Christians, and in destroying the booke of Christes moste holie Testament, renoūced your parts by his Testament bequethed vnto you: Yet I remember what you haue ben, by contrie Englishmen, by nature our kinsmen and allies, by allegeaunce Subiects, by profession Christian men: I pitie what you now are, by crueltie and spoile of the land worse than enimies, by vnnaturall doings farther from duties of loue than extreamest strangers, by rebellion Traitors, by blaspheming Christ

our Sauiour, and destroying the monumentes of his Religion, worse than Iewes and Infidels: Lastly I doe not wholly despeire, though you be far gone, what by good aduise and repentance hereafter you may be, if you shall ceasse from outrages, assay the dayly mercie of our God, and the oft approued clemencie of our most gracious Quæne, whereby you may become againe preserued Englishmen in Englande, reconciled kinsmen & frendes, pardoned subiectes, and reformed Christians, who otherwise stand in state to vndo your selues, your wiues, children, and posteritie for euer, to feele the sharp reuenge of her Maiesties necessarie iustice and due execution to be most rigorously layde vpon you by her inuincible power, & by the hands of her true loyall subiects, to lose al that you possesse, to die with shame, and (that is most terrible and græuous) to die in state of damnation. The considering of these your perils, with much compassion of you, & with some (though but smal) remnant of hope, that being admonished by hearing your frends, and somwhat alredy touched by feeling your selues, you will be called back to a more gracious & happie way, hath moued me to write vnto you. Though it be hard to thinke, that other mens wordes and writing can withdraw

draw them, whom their own dutie and moſt euident danger could not with holde, yet by-cauſe (not excuſing your wicked following them) I impute one great part of your moſt he-nous fault to other mens wicked perſua-ſions, ſo I doe not wholly deſpeire of your amendment by better aduiſes. I ſhal there-fore beſeche you, for the honour of God, for the quiet of the realm for the ſafetie of your ſelues, your liues, poſſeſſions, wiues & chil-dren, for preſeruation of your poore ſoules from euerlaſting death, to bear my poore coũ-ſel, as of one that is careful for you and har-tily prayeth GOD to giue you his grace to haue true repentance, to obteine his and the Queenes maieſties mercifull pardon, & that your dangerous beginnings may be exam-ple to reſtreine both your ſelues and all good Subiectes from like myſchiefe hereafter. I know Biles launced before their ripeneſſe, are not therby well cured: yet hope I that the rancour and ſore of your diſorders hath by this time growne ſo farre and gathered as much ill humor as it can, and the ſame ſo rottened with your own paines & calamity, that you are not altogether vnripe & vnrea-dy to receiue the meanes of your healing, ra-ther than to continue til you muſt of neceſ-ſitie be cutte off, as vncurable and deſpeired

members. Call I pray you to remembrance your mater, cause and quarell, and therwith the ende wherto it tendeth: the shewes and colours wherewith it is cloked, and therein the likelihode of those successes that you are promised, with the hope of your aydes, complices, fauourers & succours: the states and qualities of those that haue mysguided you: howe far you be any way bound vnto them, and to whome you rather be bound, and for what causes: the maner of your owne doings in folowing them: the power and force of her Maiestie, her true Subiects and other bent against you: your owne manifest mischiefe and daunger, both bodily and ghostly: almightie Gods infinite mercie, & the Quenes maiesties excessiue clemencie.

Their cause and intent.

Your very matter, cause, and quarrell in dæde, is not any enterprise for your commoditie, nor meante for your benefite, no more than if you were set on worke to hang your selues, such good will they beare you that do thus deceiue you. The very matter in dæde is this, to alter the state and gouernment of the realme: to ouerthrow her maiesties our most gracious soueraine Ladies croune and dignitie: to satisfie the nede and pouertie of such your leaders, as are fallen into lack by their leude vnthriftinesse and wastful spending

ding in moſt vyle thinges and doings: to ſet vp the ambition of moſt vnworthy perſons: to ſerue the turne of our forreine enimies, by whome entending our generall deſtruction, your miſleaders are both with preſent meanes & greate hope moſt traiterouſly corrupted: to aduance a fayned and falſe tytle, that hath neither fundation of right and law, nor can ſtands with the ſafetye of the Quenes Maieſtie, and can not but moſte manifeſtly threaten to the Realme ſpoyle, tyranie, alienation of honor, of ſoueraintie and of neceſſary defence, with moſt greuous bondage to ſtrangers vniuſt power. To which cauſe who ſo euer ſhall by meanes of alliaunce, league, confederacie, or other bond of fauour whatſoeuer, knit or ioyne himſelfe, can not in right conſideratiõ be ſeuered from the ſocietie and ſtayne of your treaſon and rebellion, nor can be any other but a dayly dangerous vnderminer of the Quenes moſt excellent Maieſties Crowne and life, whome GOD long preſerue, euen to your benefite howſoeuer poore ſoules you be abuſed. This is youre naked cauſe, howſoeuer your ſeducers haue clothed it. Lette eche of you wey with him ſelfe, (for ſo it ſtandeth you vpon) what he hath heard and vnderſtode among you, what forme of conditions he knoweth

Maguæ ſpes altera Romæ.

Confederats.

would

would content your Captains, what change would please them, what succesſe he loketh for if your treaſons might prosper, what attempts haue ben giuen, for which of the Nobilities deſtruction they pretend themſelues to be carefull, what courſe that Nobilitie hath taken, what maner leages, alliances or cõioinings they haue entred, what metings they haue had, what faythes and promyſes, and whereto they haue bene giuen, if their owne proclamation ſay true, and do not rather ſtaunder Nobilitie to deceiue you: and ſo ſhal you eaſely deciſer and plainely ſée the matter to be as I haue dyſcloſed it. Which courſe to folow, what were it els than to reſiſt the ordinance of almightie GOD, to reiect his moſt ineſtimable benefit, a moſt gracious Quéene our moſt deare mother, nurſe and protectrice, to draw vpon vs the yoke of a curſed and abhominable rule, of moſt vile and cruell example odious to God and man, to ſhake away a moſt peaſible gouernment, to pull vpon our owne heades by Gods iuſt plage moſt miſerable calamitie & ſlauerie, and to be parteners of his iuſte reuenge for the notorious euils of thoſe whoſe yoke we ſhould ſo ſéeke to enter? And yet a change muſt be made by our wyſe leaders greate diſcretions, a noble change forſothe.

An yll change.

Some

Some of you parhaps, sée nothing but the outward shewe & colour, bicause you loke to nothing else, which yet God wot is full il fauoured. Your great Captains (a likely matter) pitying the foule dysorder of the realme of England, so empouerished and decaied frō the maruelous welthy state wherin Quéen Marie lefte it, so far indetted beyond the expenses of infinite treasure that King Philip brought and left in this land, so subiected to strangers that had so small lykelyhode to haue oughte to doe here in Quéne Maries raigne, so troubled with forrein warres and inuasions as we haue ben in the .xi. yeares & more of the Quénes noble gouernment, so defrauded of due execution of iustice, that no subiect can haue his right by lawe (wher in deed none wanteth his right but they and you that yet wante your due execution, but may haue it time ynough) and that most lamentable is, those good deuout men, as your holy Earle of Westmerlande and other, in whome no kinde of lewdnesse lacked, but rebellion, which they haue nōw added to make vp their full heape of iniquitie ỹ they might be perfitly starke nought, being græued forsoth to sée God yll serued in the common order of prayers, preaching, and administration of sacramentes, and specially in this, that

Their colours.

Ironia

the boke of God lieth open to the people, and that god is serued after gods own teaching: to remedie al those mischiefs, these notably well chosen men, like themselues haue called a noble Parlament & Conuocation, that is, a route of vnlearned rude Rebelles, forgetting all dutie to God, Prince, Countrey, Neighbours, and al that euer honest is: and in this deep, wise and godly assemblie, by the inspiration of the Diuels spirit, whome vnder false name of the holie Ghost, they haue in abhominable sacrifice called vpon, it is at length decreed, enacted and proclaimed, that your two Earles with the rest of their faction, are the Quenes true and faithful subiectes: that they haue a good meaning, that nobilitie haue giuen their fayth to further it: that disordered and euill disposed persons about the Quene, seking their own aduancements, haue ouerthrowne true religion, disordred the realm, and seke destruction of the nobilitie: that these your good Gouernours wil with the help of God and good people, redresse things amisse, & restore ancient customes & liberties to the Church and Realme. Finally, they enforme of a great purpose of strangers to correcte and chasten vs to the hazard of the Realme, which they wil auoyd by hazarding it themselues. And after the

Masse of the holy Ghost.

Their proclamation.

ende they saye, God saue the Quéene, when in their doings and discourses before, out of all course of dutie, they haue plainly shewed it is not our quæne, Quéene Elizabeth that they meane.

They meane not our Queene.

Blind men may iudge no colors. A man in a darke place without light, or he whose eies be blindefild or couered with any thing that he can not see through, or he that obstinately winketh, is as vnapt to discerne colours as he that is stark blinde. Wherfore if you will rightly iudge of these coloures, and see what they be in déed, you must come out of that blinde corner of rebellion and errour where no truthe shyneth, you muste shake of the veyle or couering of wrongfull affection and misunderstanding, and you must leaue winking at your owne faultes and follies. And principally you must pray to Almighty God to open your eies to giue you his grace to see truthe and finde mercie at his handes. And thus prepared, I beseech you descende to conferre these gaye colours in the broade light.

Your Earles (say they) are the Quéenes true subiects. Suppose it for the time and for the questions sake, as they would haue you, but for the time and for their purposes sake to take it, that they vnderstād or mean therby Quéene Elizabeth our most gracious so-

They are not true subiects.

Marius and Sylla.

ueraigne Ladie, & not any other that woulde bring vpon vs Mariana tempora, the miserablest dayes that euer Rome or Englande felte. Farre doth the proportion of dutie of Subiectes to the Prince exceede the dutie of Seruants to Maisters, or Children to Parents, yea or Wiues to their Husbands, the very nearest conioyning in humaine fellowship, euen so farre as a Realme exceedeth a priuate Familie. But if one of your owne seruantes, children or wiues, should do that without your wil, yea against your wil and expresse commaundement, that your Captains and you haue attempted without and against the Quenes highnes plesure, would you accompt them good seruaunts, good children or good wiues? If the seruant shall departe from his maisters seruice wythout leaue, the childe from his fathers obedience, the wife frō the society of her husband without hys contentement or pleasure knowen, the case being supposed your owne, you can not like it. If they shall put on armoure and weapon, and become terrible, or threaten force to the Master, Father, Husband, or the rest of the familie: if the case (I say) were your owne, you would more mislike it. If they shall threaten to pull away, to banish, to destroy those frends or good seruantes, or

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the reſt of the childzen whom the maiſter, father oz huſbande dearely eſteemeth, by whoſe good trauayle, cheriſhing and dutiful miniſterie and attendance, the maiſter, father, oz huſband is ſerued & pzeſerued, & mainteyneth the cõmodities of his contenãce: this being your own caſe, you would yet moze diſalowe it. If they ſhall miſentreate, rob, ſpoyle, mayheme, and murder ſome of the reſt of thoſe other ſeruauntes, friendes & childzen that the maiſter, father oz huſband ſo dearly loueth, & foz his benefite cõfoztably vſeth: were it in your own caſe, you wold now abhoz it. If by no warning, pzohibition, requeſt, pzomiſe of recõciliation, thzeatning oz otherwayes, they wil ceſſe off pzoſecuting their enterpzile: the caſe being your owne, you would hicly ſtomack it. If not withſtãding all theſe doings, pzocedings, continuings, neglecting of thzeatnings, reiecting of faire ſpeache and pzomiſes, theſe riſers, withſtanders, inuaders, robbers, murderers, cõtemners without licence, againſt the authozitie, againſt the open declaration of his own wil and meanes of pacification ſought by the maiſter, father, oz huſbande, will ſtill ſaye and maintayn that they be true and faithfull ſeruantes, humble and obedient chil-

dzen,

dren, good and louing wiues: if the cases were you owne, you would not beleaue it.

The Quenes maiestie Quene Elizabeth is by al right the soueraigne Ladie & Maistresse of vs al, and of you to, & that must ye otherwise acknowlege or otherwise fele, or both, to your terrour I speake it. Her grace is the most louing mother and Nourse of all her good subiectes, to your shame and reproch of vnkindenesse I say it. Her highnesse is the Husbande of the cõmon weale, maried to the Realme, and the same by ceremonie of ring as solemnely signified as any common mariage is, to our great comfort and confidence I reherse it. Shall your captains forsake her seruice, and tell you they are good seruantes? Shall they or you resyst her authoritie, & refuse her blessing, & say they or you be her good children? Shall they seuer the knot of loue and agreement betwene her and them, and yelde their bodies to a notorious adulter, and yet saye they breake no bonde of this sacred wedlocke? Call their doings to minde, peruse them, wey them. They haue long agoe nourished this treason in their hartes: they haue bene long prouidyng for it: It was brought to her maiestie and her counsell by aduertisements: they haue ben tenderly delt with, priuately admonished of the rumours,

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the matter so signified vnto them, as if her highnesse where loth to beleue it: them selues haue forsworne it, with greate othes & detestatiõ, protesting themselues to be free from it. Wherin note I pray you the great indulgence towarde them euen with the most that any subiect in highest place may vse in cases touching his Soueraignes safetie, whereof he ought no to be prodigal. And yet could none of these two great kindnesses moue them. Note withall how lykely they are to professe a true Religion, that holde this principle to keepe to faith, vse no loyalty, regard no othes & promises made with attestation of God, and auowing themselues to renouncing of heauen & to eternall damnation. Note also how lykely they are to say true to you, in the things they beare you in hand, or in keping promise with you for your succor, defence or standing by you in extremitie, if themselues might haue any hope to escape and leaue you to gods mercie, or rather to your own miserie & most harde aduenture. For surely they do in the while but vse you for a buckler, to holde vp betwene them & the strokes for a time, and at length when they be ouerlayde, they will throwe away their buckler that they may run away the lighter, if they and their buckler bothe be not afore

Papistes teache to kepe no fayth.

afore hande beaten downe to the ground. But these good men well respecting Religion, that respecte no faith, nor will kæpe any with you more than they haue kept with the Quene & her Officers, being called at length by order to purge them selues, refuse to appære, being more earnestly called vpon to come & declare their innocencie, they enter into actuall rebellion, raise vp you and other to kæpe themselues from the face of iustice, & yet they haue put on a visour of great vertue: and where in dæd not being able to cleare themselues, & answer their traiterous leagues and deuises, they vse you for the time to stay their apprehension, til they may otherwise prouide their escape, they beare you in hande that with all reuerence they remaine her true & faithfull subiects. Is not this a plain conterfait color? There is no white without whitnesse, no good without goodnesse, none true without truthe, none faithefull without faithefulnesse, no subiecte without subiection and obedience: What do they herein else, but as all other traytoures and rebelles haue euer and ordinarily do, pretend themselues to be true subiectes, knowing otherwise that simple subiects wold not followe them at all?

These good religious Erles and Captai-

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aes that so much inuey ageinſt faith which they vſe not, and bragge of the value and merits of good workes whereof they haue few, now let them if they wil proue their colour true, that they be as they pretend, shew me their faith by their workes, their white by their whiteneſſe, proue themſelues true by true dealing with god in their periuries, with prince in their rebellion, with ſubiect and neighbours in their ſpoyles and robberies, and well paying their dettes, yea with your ſelues in ſo fowly abuſing you. Let them proue themſelues faithful ſubiectes in their refuſing to come to anſwer, in their riſing without warrant, their reſiſtance without yelding. All theſe enormities they ſtill continue, no gentle vſage, no good meane reſtraineth them. Alas the caſe is to playne.

They ſay they haue good meaning. If it were ſo, it would procede by good doing, and tend to good ending. But what good meaning are ſuch good men like to haue? Or what ſoeuer is good meaning, be theſe likely to lyght firſt vpō it, or fitly choſen to further it? Somwhat muſt be ſaide, or nothing can be done, Some ſhew muſt be made, or no mā wil follow. How eaſie is it for the noughtieſt perſon to ſay he meaneth well? but how plaine is it on the other ſide for euery reaſonable

Their meaning not good.

man to sée, that he that doth vngraciously meaneth ill: and he that putteth in execution horrible and vngodly factes, continueth and reioyceth in them, riseth without his princes warrant, armeth her subiects without authoritie, employeth their force to her terror, bendeth al his doings to tumult and vprore, destroyeth the boke of God the most comfortable iewell in the world published with the princes power and commendation, wherein eche man is truely taught howe to do well in déede, this man I say that doth thus yll, meaneth not wel how good soeuer he say his meaning is. Discerne the trée by the frutes, the faith by the works, the saying by proofe, the pretended meaning by apparant déedes. These men meane shrewdly or speake very falsely, when they say they meane well, and yet do so yll. If they meane well to the Quéene, when they thus resist her, it is possible they will vndoe you too, and yet beare you in hand they meane you well. They meane to you daungerously euill, and they meane to themselues foolishly wel, in thrusting youre bodies betwéene them and their due danger, while such shift wil last, and till they may spie a better. But you shal do wel to discerne their ill meaning: let them answer their faults, & repent you your faults.

Of

Of such a good meaning on your part may ryse a good doing, and hap a better spéding than is yet to be looked for.

But sée in what forme and particularities this good meaning is expressed. Nobilitie (say they) and other haue giuen their faith to further this lewd meaning. If any such confederacie be, as it is not so greate as you be borne in hande, it shall be good to the parties to purge them of that iealousie in true seruice against your captayns and you. Neither can any be frée from the spot therof, that shall be founde to aduaunce, fauour, maintayne or ioyne him selfe to any estate or title that importes her maiesties daunger, or hath impugned her highnesse safety, right or dignitie. No, no, this is but a colour to slaunder Nobilitie, and deceiue you with vayne hope of desperate succors. You sée you finde it not, you are destitute and disappoynted of it. If suche leagues had bene, neuer looke that they will kéepe fayth with you that breake it with their Prince, or will ioyne with you, being no stronger than you be to beare them harmlesse. Looke sooner that Nobilitie will the rather employe them selues for her Maiestie against you, to cleanse and reuenge this great infamie and dishonor, with your

Nobilitie slandered.

iuſte deſtruction. But be it, that they had ſo, and were ioyned together to aduaunce this good meaning, whereof God wote you are fowly begyled. What is it I praye you or what grounde hath it? What hath her Maieſtie or her counſell offended? Wherin is the Realme ſo daungered and oppreſſed, that it muſt haue violent remedy, it may abide no delay of Counſelling, no ordinarie meane of reformation: Northumberland, Weſtmerland & Swinborn, like Catiline, Lentulus, and Manlius muſt erecte a newe Triumuirate to repaire or newe melte and faſhion the decayed common weale of England? Forſoth diſordered and ill diſpoſed perſons aboute the Quæne haue marred all. Diſordered ſayeth my Lorde of Weſtmerlande: Ill diſpoſed, ſayth my Lorde of Northumberlande: about the Quæne, ſay goods fellows, wight riders and robbers in the borders of two Realmes: O vertuous men. O holy thænes. O well meaning traytours. O likely ſurmiſe. Is there any greater diſorder than rebellion? Is there any worſe diſpoſition than Treaſon? Is there any greater falſhode than thus to defame the Quænes moſte Noble gouernemente? Are you ſo blynde not to ſée the Quene touched, though, to beguyle you, her name

The rule of three gouerners.

Greate waſt in the melting.

name be ſpared? Come they, whome you call diſordered, to the Quæne vncalled? Are they not of hir Maieſties Counſell by her wiſe and good choyſe? Deale they not in the cauſes of the realme to ſuch end and with ſuch meanes as her maieſtie appointeth? Do they any thing withoute her authoritie and good liking, as there is good cauſe? Make they any lawes, require they any Subſidies, do they the greateſt thinges, without aſſent of the whole Realme, your owne aſſent by your deputies & burgeſes, yea your owne forſworne captains, in open parliament, wherunto her Maieſties aſſent is had? or in caſes out of parliament, is ought put in execution without her highneſſe will and pleaſure? Do they their things here, trow you, as you do your things there? O impudent beaſtes to beare you ſo in hande. O deceyued ſoles you to beleue it. But O mad doltes ſo raſhly to hazard your poſſeſſions, liues, good names, wiues, chyldren, hauiour, yea ſoules, and all vpon credit of ſo falſe reports. It is her Maieſtie that dothe theſe good thinges her ſelfe, and honorably auoweth and inuincibly will vpholde the doing of thoſe things which your captaynes call miſdoings, and will defende the perſons of thoſe good and noble

The Queenes name forborn, to ſclander her Counſell.

noble counsellers that serue her in so good gouernaunce of her estate, with the assistance of almighty God in her right, & the dutifull seruice of all hir true Nobilitie & her faithfull subiectes against al Rebelles, traytours and enemies, what soeuer they be, eyther within this Realme or without. Thus knowe ye, that her Maiestie taketh vpon her the iustification of her gouernement, and her Counsels ministerie therein. Therefore when your Earles accuse these about the Quæne, they accuse the Quæne her selfe. It is but coloure to abuse you. They would say the Quæne, if they thought ye would well take it. And if GOD were so farre angry with vs as to giue them miraculous victorie against all likelihode, yea and in mans eye against all possibilitie, no dout her Maiestie shoulde fæle it with the fowlest indignitie that euer was seen in earth. And if it lay in them to spoile her maiesty and the realme of her good counsellers, their slender curtesie to her person would sone appere. Ceasse then to be so beguiled, take that shadow away, and take it as truthe is, that your Earles proclamation in dæde sayth, though not in the selfe same sillables, that the Quænes Maiestie with her Nobilitie, Parliament,

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and Counsell, haue done these mischieues that my lord of Westmerland and his fellowes must redresse in hast. And these Nobilitie and counsellers your wise good Rulers call disordered and euill disposed persons. If you know them not, will you beleue that so wyse, learned, vertuous and noble a Quæne calleth to her counsell disordered & euil disposed persons. Yea more, if you know them not, wil you beleue that so great weakneſſe and pouertie, wherein her maiestie found the realme, is (thankes be to God) repaired: so great quietnes and peace procured and kept: so good & equal distributing of iustice maintained: such amitie with neighboures, such loue, credit, yea awe of her highnes among forein princes and Potestates, conciled and vpholden, so firmely, and so many yeares: will you beleue so great things so well done, so long continued, by disordered & ill disposed persons? If you knowe them, then nede I say no more. You know your proclamation is false, you knowe they be slaundered, you knowe your selues be deceyued. God gyue you grace to know howe to recouer youre selues agayne. But on the other side, when you remember that which you daily see, the vanities, the doltishneſſe, the borrowings with

The Counsell not disordered nor ill disposed.

The rebels disorders and yll dispositions.

without caring to pay, the prostitute abuse without regard of chastitie, the leude vnthriftinesse without respect of well getting or wel spending, the rashnesse without discretion, the vngodly life without al vertu, the glorious lustinesse wythout feare of God and without all foundation of honestie, the adulteries, fornications, thefts, robberies, spoyles, murders, and other mischiefes, in some of your captaynes professedly open and dayly exercised, euen with the gay name of a ioly stout Gentleman & lusty courage, and in some of greatest rauenie, yet like Rainard the Fore cloked with some more hypocrisie: these when you marke and wey truly, as you sée them daily apply the wordes of disordred and ill disposed persons as you sée them deserued. Let euery worke haue his true name. And now sée these coloures. Rebels are called true subiectes, the Quenes maiestie is named with honour, and touched with dishonour: her doings, that they may be more freely slandered, are imputed to other whō they dare more boldly defame: you are led against the Quene, & born in hand against other: Nobilitie is falsly charged: fowle treason is called good meaning: periurie chalfgeth to be beleued: common robbers

and

and theues, adulterers, murderers & rebels are well disposed persons: the Quænes maiesties counsell and true nobilitie are called disordered and ill disposed. Alas these colors are so blacke, that they wil take none other hue. Marke well. If you beleue these, you may not saye you are deceyued otherwyse than wilfully, the matter is so plaine.

But what haue these disordred and euill disposed counsellers about the Quæne done say you: ouercome true and Catholike religion, disordered the realme, seke the destruction of Nobility. O shameles falshods, O fading false and vayne colours. Come out of darknes, open your eyes, cary them into the light, hold them against the sunne, trie them and iudge of them. They haue ouercome true religion, say your seducers & false teachers. Is there any alteration of Religion made so rashly as your rebellion: or teacheth it so vngodly doings as you do execute: or is it receyued from any other than from the word of God himselfe? If you will haue any religion, I truste you will haue Christes religion. If you will haue the Religion of Christ, I hope you will best beleue himselfe to tell you what it is. If you will heare him selfe speke, you may not destroy his worde. Euen they that would deceiue ye most, can

Religion.

Tearing the Bible.

not deny that the holy Bible is the worde of GOD, what soeuer is taught therin is truth, what soeuer is against it is heresie & falshode. How thinke you then, doe they meane you wel that take Gods word from you, that destroy the bible, teare and tread vnder fæte the Scripture of the worde of God, forbidde you to heare or knowe that wherby only you should heare and knowe truth, and learne to sæ their falshode: can they wish you to sæ that would take away your light: can they wish you to fare well that would deprive you of your fode: The blasphemie is haynous, the offence dangerous, this path is not the way to true religion, but to error, which they would not haue you sæ, that persuade you to blindfill your selfs against the truth of gods gospel.

Breaking the Communion table.

Besides your destroying of Gods boke, can ye think that they meane to draw you to true & catholike religion, that persuade you to destroy the monuments of Christian Communion? Read or heare the whole forme of that seruice, iudge of euery word and sentence, and then shall you sæ what comforte your false deceyuers haue taken from you. Compare what good you find in that, and what edifying in the contrarie: what swæteneſſe it is to ioyne with Gods

congre-

congregation in partaking of Chriſtes bo-
dy & bloud by meane of his Sacramentes,
and what vanitie or rather ſorrow it is to
gaze vpon a théefe that robbeth you of that
treaſure, pretendeth to take it al himſelfe,
& holdeth vp that which he calleth a Sa-
crament as it were in inſultation and tri-
umphe ouer your ſilly ſimplicitie. Do but
heare, reade and knowe the thinges that
ye yet deſpiſe, I dout not Gods grace ſhall
crepe into you for your comfort.

Where thirdly you haue raged againſt the mariage of Gods Miniſters, beholde your owne madneſſe. I hope you be not all popiſh Prieſtes Baſtardes, thus rebelli-ouſly to riſe for the honor of your falſe Fa-thers. Do you think al your popiſh prieſts to haue liued chaſt? Knowe you not their olde incontinence commonly miſnamed luſtineſſe and good fellowſhip? Remem-ber the examples your ſelues. Is mariage worſſe than horedom? was it not by them-ſelues taught to be a ſacrament? Is it not the holy ordinance of god? Is the mariage of your ſelues and youre forefathers be-come vnclenneſſe, or diſpleaſing to God? Thinke not ſo yll of your ſelues. No, no, there is another matter. You are begyled poore ſoules, loke home to your own beds,

Crueltie to maried prieſtes.

preserue the cleanenesse & honestie of your houses. This is a quarell wholly like the old rebelles cõplaint of enclosing of commons. Many of your disordered and euill disposed wiues are muche agreeued that Priestes which were wont to be common be nowe made seuerall, Hinc illæ lacrimæ, there is the griefe in deede. And truth it is and so shall you finde it: fewe women storme againste the mariage of Priestes, calling it vnlawfull, and incensing men against it, but suche as haue bene Priestes harlots or fayne would be. Content youre wiues your selues, and let Priestes haue their owne. And for whole religion, receiue it as GOD hath taught it, reade his worde: and for the deliuerie and explication of it, it behoueth you, being no better clerkes than you are, to credite the whole Parliament, the learned Clergie of the Realme, and those that teache you by the boke of God, & learne it in such sorte & places as it is to be taught. Your Camp is no good schole of Diuinitie. Your churches as they were reformed, the worde of God red in such tong as you vnderstode it, the Sacraments ministred to your comforte, in suche sorte as you might feele the sense of them and be edified by them, the good examples

amples

amples of youre Ministers liuing in holy matrimonie with their owne wyues and abstayning from yours, their teaching you obedience, iustice, & charitie, be the means to learne truth.

And yet if errors had ben taught, this is not the way to come to amendement. Know of those that complain of the ouerthrowing of that religiõ that liketh them, if euer they sought good meanes to defend it and were denied, if euer they offred conference where it was mãte and were refused, if euer they mayntained it in place conuenient by the word of God and were not fully, truly and charitably answered: Think you hir maiestie & the wisest of the realme haue no care of their owne soules, that haue charge bothe of their owne and youres? Thinke you they would haue entred into the troubles of changing religion, vnlesse very truth, conscience and zele for all our soules had enforced them? God wote you are deceyued, you are out of the way for true vnderstanding religion, you are out of the way for true seking it, and ye are very far out of the way in thinking that your captaynes haue any care of it.

They abuse you in this as in the rest. They regarde no religion, that goe so ir-

religi-

religiously to work. All is but shewes and hipocrisie. They haue frequented the seruice established by cõmon authority, they haue receyued Goddes Communion with hys Churche, they haue commended it, which if they had had the contrarie religion to hart, they would not nor might haue done, vnlesse they woulde confesse themselues such as you ought not to beleue. But the truth is, they knowe that for want of sufficient preachyng, and especially for want of grace to receyue the truth of God preached, and partly also for that long settled errours euen in men otherwyse good and honest, must haue theyr time of instruction and parsuasion: by these meanes I say, there be many yet within the realme not well taught: the multitude of which simple men, they hoped by this colour to draw to the felowship of their rebellion, and that way to haue more helpe to shelde themselues from the power of Justice, and so to gyue an aduenture by more ayde to escape the due punishement for these their treasons that otherwise in peasable place of iustice they could not defend or auoyde.

So still this is but colour, euen as is the same ỹ foloweth, that her Maiesties Coũ-

sell

ſell haue diſordered the Realme. Well they knowe it is not ſo, and well they know that they nor their auncеſtors neuer knewe it ſo well ordered. But if any would beléeue ſuch ſclander, they hoped thereby to winne the moe complices, and ſo to hide their owne daunger in the multitude. Conſider the truthe of this colour. Wey the times, conferre and examine them truly. Let not falſe perſuaſions deceyue you. Be not ſo wild and wanton with welth, to forget whence your wealth commeth, or not to ſée that the Realme hath it. Hadde Englande euer in our memorie ſo long ſo bliſſed peace bothe at home and abroad? Had euer true Nobilitie more tender indulgence and honorable cheriſhing? Had euer ſubiectes more true and frée adminiſtration of law and right? Was England euer better ordered in all degrées, from hye to lowe, till your ſhamefull rebellion hath interrupted the great bleſſing of God? Or hath all Chriſtendome the like at this day, your lewde tumult onely excepted? Hath not her Maieſtie with the aduiſe and ayde of her moſt honorable Counſell, ſo ordered vs, that we haue as it were ſtanding on ſhore beholden the ſhipwrackes of other nations? Liue we not dayly to our comfort with the fruites of this good gouernement? Diſordring the realme.

It

It is suche, that as the case standeth, he is lyke to be vnhappy that shall ouerliue it. Is this the thankes due to her Maiestie and her Counsell for their care and trauayle for your preseruation? Suppose you that such kindnesse is the way to kepe GOD louing and beneficiall vnto vs? Repent your error, acknowledge with thankes the good order of the realme that you haue felt with profite, forsake the disordercrs of the cõmon welth, and yelde to suche good order as they that haue wel, wisely, iustly and mercifully ordered it can best dispose of you. You see these be stil but false colours to deceiue moe subiects, to drawe moe adherentes, to helpe to shroud your seducers in communitie of perill.

Destruction of nobilitie.

And of like sort, falshode and impudencie is that they say of seeking to destroy Nobilitie. Though some of them that so proclaime haue bene noble, you must remember howe Nobilitie may rise and fal. There is no trayter noble, how notable soeuer he be, or how noble soeuer his auncesters were. The aduauncement for vertue to the most honorable order is no more due to good, valiant and true Gentlemen, than the defacing of the former ensignes of Nobilitie, and solemne spurning them into a ditch, is a due preiudice to desloyal and vntrue subiects, the very

kayne of whose companie, presence or fellowship in the tokens of honoure true Nobilitie can not beare. Pitie it is that they haue so far forgotten the common wealth and their owne, so to deserue. But so deseruing, good example and necessarie iustice it is, that they beare their extremest infamie. Neither yet hath the Quenes maiestie nor her Counsell soughte their destruction, but they themselues haue now procured their owne, and drawen you in with them. Let themselues say of the benefites they haue receyued of her maiestie, her good coũtenance and supportation, all her Counselles frendly and louing meanes to do them good: then iudge ye what cause they haue so to saye. As for the rest of the Nobilitie, as they be moste deepely bound to her maiestie for her good and gracious tender loue and fauoure to them, which they ceasse not to acknowledge, and will do, euen with the aduenture of their liues, honours and possessions, in her Maiesties defense, against all rebels and traytoures, and namely against your Captaines and you: so are they full slenderly beholden to your two good Erles for defaming them with the partenership of so fowle and abhominable treasons. And for that the slaunder is generall, without particular naming of any, ye must

loke for the more general reuenge of all nobilitie againſt you, no one ſhrinking or withdrawing, but euery one moſte forwardely preſſing to purge himſelfe by his good ſeruice from ſo great diſhonoure, and to ſhewe hys thankfulneſſe (the naturall propertie of honour) to her maieſtie for her great kindneſſe and tender loue to that whole degree. Some of them to their great prayſe, you ſée, alredy haue ſhewed their truthe, in repreſſing your attempts, refuſing your ſocieties, & in readineſſe to ouerthrow you. Eche man is ſo likelieſt to deſire a newe eſtate, as he hath moſt cauſe to be wery of the olde. In what Princes dayes did euer Nobilitie liue, or can they hope to liue in ſuche ſecuritie, in ſuche (as it were) nereneſſe and conuenient familiarity with their prince, ſo free from vniuſt backbitings, from vaine ieloſies & ſuſpitions, from dangers by enimies reports or falſe accuſations, from tumulte, war and malice one againſt another, yea from all vnſuerties and vnquietneſſes, as they haue done in her maieſties dayes? It is maruellous and vnnaturally miraculous, that there are founde ſuch two (I meane your two Erles) to ſhew ſuch vnkindneſſe. Thinke not then that any moe of nobilitie be ſo ill minded. But be not deceyued, take the thing as truth is, this is

but

but a colour, howbeit in dede a leud malicious suttle & dangerous colour, partly to the intent to rayse mistrust betwene her Maiestie and her nobles, if either were not so wel known to other as they be, & partly or rather chiefly to deceiue and deteine you with hope of that whiche is not in dede. But as in the one they laboure in vayne, so in the other learne you to be wiser, & to trust them the worse hereafter. You finde it falleth not out so. Yir maiestie hath euer cherished Nobilitie, no one of that estate hath by her perished in all her time, they know it and acknowledge it, and you must fele it. You se that they come not to you, for all the promises and faithes supposed in your proclamation. It falleth not out as you are borne in hand: they are al in readinesse with their power ageinst you, to clere thẽselues, & to wreke the dishonor vpon you. If this colour deceiue you, you winke hard, or be maruelously blinded. If any of nobilitie for any contempts or other causes haue ben stayed (whereupon the likelyhode is that you are the more led to thinke this surmise true) themselues acknowledge yet with what clemency they are vsed, the world knoweth how sory hir maiestie is to haue any such occasion: but howsoeuer it be, they haue smal cause to thank you for agree-

uing their case with greater suspitions: and according to that you haue so ill deserued of them, you must accompt that themselues, so farre as their liberties and her Maiesties trust in them will permitte, and all their friends for their benefite, will with moste sharpe reuenge vpon you, do what they can to persuade their innocence. Neither I trust will her maiestie hir selfe, so yet giue ouer the care of her owne preseruation, as to contemne all aduertisements of attempts, and not by good care and hed of hir counsel, yea & extirpation of the contrarie, stand vpon her gard against all aduauncements of suche titles as you would preferre being dangerous to hir safetie, and which haue alredy to their vttermoste, attempted her hieste perill, or yet to leaue in danger to their malice hir good Subiects that be ielous of her preseruing. And God giue vnto hir grace the hart in perills touching her persone and estate, not to haue to great clemencie, remembring that though it be magnificall and noble to contemne treasons, to pardon traytours, to reconcile dangerous vndermineres of her estate: yet the whole realme hauing interest in hir life, by which we all lyue, and can not liue well without her, it is farre more honorable to be good Ladie to true men than to false, to

the

the whole cõmon welth of god men that de-
pend vpon her, than to any knot of euill men
that may practyse her danger, by which the
whole realm must nædes come to such con-
fusion, as your wise guides wold fayn bring
it. But in the meane time you sée, they haue
brought you in a gay case, vpon trust of their
words, their vayne colours in their procla-
mations, their false promises of great suc-
cours. You are in the way of vndoing for e-
uer to helpe them to a little leysure to shift,
or (if they abyde by it) to giue the aduenture
of their most heynous treasons.

And hereto they persuade you with pro- Helpe of
mis of the help of god and good people, direct- God and
ly against the commandement of God, & to good peo-
the disturbance of good people. But, I pray ple.
you, what people, or what Godnesse, loke
they for to ayde them? The late tumults in
king Edwards time haue taught al the wise
people of the Realm, to beware of suche fol-
lies. The good & honest subiects of the West, The west.
that were then seduced, nowe haue learned,
and do like good subiectes continue in loyall
duetie, & be ready to employ theyr force a-
gainst you, to teach you by smart that which
you will not lern by example. The noble & Exeter.
wel gouerned city of Exceter hath taught al
Cities & townes the honor of faithfulnesse.

All

Al the south, the east, eche part, the land, the sea, & heauen it selfe are ioyned against you. Ech man seeth the horror of the fact, but your selues alone. Reade (I beseech you) the excellent treatis of sir Iohn Cheke Knight, of the Hurt of sedition, there see as in a glasse, the deformitie of your faulte, learne to wype away those spots that haue so fowly arayed you, that you loke not like Christian people but like monsters in nature & policie, howeuer your captains cal you good people, being so rebellious against so good a Soueraine, & banded in hostilitie against all good subiects. So eche thing that they pretend with mere contrarietie of truth, bewrayeth their open falshod, vnlesse they wil, to defend thēselues to haue said in one only thing true, that they rise to redresse thinges amisse, say that they meane not things amisse to be redressed, but things to be amisse redressed.

Sir Ihon Chekes excellēt boke.

Customes.

In like maner is all the rest. They will (they say) restore auncient customes and liberties to the church and realme. Are all customes without respect of good or bad, to be restored? are not rather the badde to be reformed? and so is it true libertie to be deliuered from them, and not remayne thrall and bounde vnto them. For he that bindeth least and setteth frest, offereth most liber

Liberites.

tie

tie. If they meane by libertie lewde licentiousnesse, and dissolute disorder of lyfe, to haue no feare of God Prince, law, or shame, to haue no respect or awe of honestie, such libertie I graunt they propounde vnto you, and giue you dayly examples of. But if the true libertie of Christes churche and flocke be, to heare his voyce, and no straungers, to be subiect or in bondage to no strange power or vsurped tyrannie that shall syt in the cõsciences of christian men, captiuing them to an implicite & general faith of what so euer they shall teach without the warrant of Christ the true head of the church, then your great Libertines bring but bondage and slauerie. Beware therfore lest vnder name of libertie, you take the heuy yoke of thraldom. When most noble and victorious kings and princes, most graue, valiant and wyse counsellers and nobilitie, most learned, discrete and vertuous prelates and other of the clergie, haue with their great trauail, study and aduenture, made a conquest of Antichriste that kept vs in bondage, deliuered this Realme to very frædom in dæde, set it at libertie from foreine tyrants yoke: is this to restore the libertie of the Church, to make it bond again? Can you be so mad to think it? Great are the illusions vpon those whome

Gods

Gods grace hath forsaken. Pray to God to bring your hartes to libertie of consideration, and you shall plainly see the libertie of the churche assayled by your owne factions, the libertie of your consciences captiued and the true libertie of your lyues in lawfull things restrayned. Sweete in deede is the name of libertie, & the treasure of the thing it self beyond al value inestimable: so much the more it behoueth you to take heede that with the sweetenesse of the name you lese not the value of the thing. You may not thinke her maiestie her selfe, and her nobilitie, clergie, and other good subiectes, so farre throwne downe in courage, as they wouldoe lose the iewell of libertie. Much lesse muste ye beleue your licentious bosters of libertie, that will bring you in deed nothing but bondage. You see the difference of their credit, and the euidence of your perill: iudge therefore the falshod of this colour, as wel as the rest, and with the fond deuise that foloweth, to pretende a care for their countrey, into whose bowels they haue thrust their weapon, least they should be behind strangers in wounding her.

Strangers. They say they feare a reformation by Strangers, to the hazard of the realme: and therefore forsoth these noble hazarders of

their

their own wealth, estate and honour, and of your sureties, must hazard the realme themselues, lest strangers should: and yet further withall, lest themselues should not suffise to hazard it enough, they directely signifie, and it is wel knowen that thēselues haue sought and vsed conspiracie of strangers to further the hazarde to their vttermost. But note the fraude I pray you, for the meaning is to deceiue you, and therefore it behoueth you to note it. They will not say directly, we haue practized with strangers to take our partes, for that were too broad and too plaine: but it must be penned in such words that you must be giuen to vnderstand that strangers are of that faction, yea and so far forward, that they are also ready to do that which you haue enterprised, though forsoth your captains and they be not of one conspiracie. Ye is blinde that sæth it not. Al this is but to encourage you and to put you in hope of ayde, either by traytors in Englande, or enimies abroade: whence it come it makes no matter. But they deceiue you, it wil not be: wey it wel, fæde not your selfe with vaine hopes.

First, if strangers were dysposed to come, it is a mad saying, let vs rise and reformme least strangers come & reformme, as though straungers hauing purpose to come, and in-

tending to gayne by ſpoyle, woulde come ſo much the later for hauing ſomuch ayde as ſo many rebelles to helpe them to ſpoyl. Therfore when they come not in deede, you muſt needes ſay that you were falſly ſo borne in hand with a gay hope, to make you the bolder to runne to your owne deſtruction.

Treaſons of popiſh religion

An vnnaturall hope it is, and beaſtly, to ioyne with any ſtrangers to the ſpoyle of their own countrey. But ſuch is the nature of that falſe religion, to regard no countrey, fayth, nature, or common honeſtie. Remember I pray you, what yelded the realme tributarie and the King Vaſſal, I meane king

King Iohn.

Iohn, but the treaſon of Popiſh Religion? What gaue the Crowne, to Ludouike the Dolphin of France, that inuaded and poſſeſſed muche of the realme a long time, by the ayde of diſloyal Barons in England, but the

Card. Poole.

treaſon of popiſh religion? What ſente Legates and Meſſangers (yea Engliſhe traytours) about Chriſtendom, to forren Emperors and Kyngs, to offer them this Realme to pray, ſpoyle, and conqueſt, to exhort them to turne their prepared powers from inuading the Turk, to make war vpon the king of Englande our Soueraigne Ladies moſte noble father, whom they termed worſe than any Turk, but treaſon of popiſh Religion?

What

What hazarded this Realme with subiecti-
on to strangers in our late memorie: but
treason of popish Religion? What then de- Trolop. A.
riued, & yet daily doth, solemn pedigræs to B.&c.
Spaniards & other forreins, yea & wresteth
lawe for dangerous strangers, to make
them acceptable to the deceyued multitu-
de, as though they were our naturall
princes, but only treason of popish religiõ?

But God hath hetherto preserued this
land from being subdued by these horrible
treasons, and I trust hée will still, and in
your powre case is most likelie to leaue your
vain trust disapointed. For consider the like- President.
lyhod. The example so toucheth the common
state of al Kings and Princes, as you being
rebelles may loke for no forren ayde, though
it were but for presidents sake. Such forens
as mighte come to you by lande, are truer Scotlande.
frends to the Quéene than you be subiectes:
where, by the waye, loke for no retire nor
safe refuge, but her maiesties mercy. Other Alua.
strangers, that in déede haue vttered more
malice to her Maiestie and her realm, & haue
interrupted the good loue and peace, and an-
cient loue, amitie and intelligence betwéen
her Maiestie and those Princes of whome K. Philip.
shée hath moste constantely well deserued:
alas, they be neyther much terrible to her
maiestie, nor can be much cõfortable to you.

Will they, in such season as may serue your turnes, hauing so fewe to spare where they be, bring a meane power by Sea, so farre, so dangerous a viage, along the Quenes highnesse coast, in such time of yeare, being neyther able to resist her nauie by the way, lesse able when their men be landed, and leaste able to come againe to fetch them when the enterprise is ended? Be they so mad, trowe you, to leaue their Nobilitie, Captains and Souldiours in their enimies lande, inclosed betweén enimies of bothe Realmes, without more succour than vnlikely Fortune & the trust of a fewe Rebelles. No, no, they be not yet so madde, though you be madder. There muste be greater heades and power than you be or haue at libertie, that they will ioyne wythall. They can be contente to giue you vaine hope perhaps. For if England may be in tumult by their practize, and you come to your deserued ende, it contenteth and suffiseth them to haue ventured the state at your perill, and to haue grœued her Maiestie with alienation and destruction of so many poore deceyued Subiectes. Looke vnto your selues well, the greate bragges are not performed, the promises are not kepte, you are betrayed by your owne leaders. Call to God for mercie bytimes, satisfie

tisfie her Maiestie with returning to du-
tie, and that with al spede, least though ye
scape slaughter by the true subiectes hand,
you may not with honor be too gently delt
with. Deliuer them that betrayed you,
that they which in proclamations haue pu-
blished vnto you vayne and false hopes of
treasons, may vpon scaffolds preach vnto
you the right frutes of rebellion and dutie
of obedience, that their death may do more
good in example, than euer their liues did
in practise.

This counsell I hope you will followe, The Rebels leaders de-scribed.
when the light of true consideration shall
shine into your hartes, and chase away all
darkenesse of these erronious shewes and
false colors that yet haue blinded you: and
so much the more when you shall further
note all the necessarie circumstances that
may reduce you to truthe. What be your
leaders? Your two Erles, you know wel,
are euen of the meanest of all Nobilitie, in
hauior, credite and power, to conducte you
through so great and dangerous an enter-
prise. The one you see hardly beareth the
countenance of his estate with his smal por-
tion of that which his ancestors sometime
had and lost: his dayly sales and shiftes for
necessitie, euen then when he hadde lesse

charge than to mainteine an army, both in Suffex and elſe where are well knowen: ſuche power as he hath had & vſed in thoſe partes aboute you, is to be aſcribed to her Maieſties authoritie, vnder whom he ſerued, which now is bent againſt him: otherwiſe, neyther his pollicie great to rule or redreſſe a Realm, nor yet to eſpie the true faultes, much leſſe the remedie, an vnfitte iudge of Religion, and a very euill choſen chaſtiſer of diſordered life. The other, of no credit, no wiſdome nor gouernance, no abilitie, no vertue. Who knoweth not the enormities of his life, the indiſcretion of ruling his owne, the great lackes & dettes wherein he is by his owne fault endangered, the eſtimation of him as of a contemned man, none otherwyſe regarded than for the name ſake of honor and ſome poſſibilitie that he might parhaps leaue a better ſon to amend the ſtate of his houſe? Thoughe his Father were touched with many great faults, much noted in ỹ world, ſome whereof this Gentleman hath as by inheritance receyued: yet neuer dyd he ſo hurtfull a dæd eyther to the cõmon weale, or to his owne name and familie, as when he begatte ſo vngracious a ſonne. Euen he that neuer gouerned well him ſelfe nor

any

:ny thing that he hath, whom no wiseman
no? I thinke any of you (as mad as ye be)
would p?iuately trust with o?dering of a
mean household, now must take in publike
charge the power of a shire o? two, yea of
all the Realme, if the rest wold aduenture
as madly as you. Fo? the case of Religion:
doth any man knowe that euer he p?eten-
ded any religion o? conscience at all, till
now he makes an Apish counterfayting
of fayned popish deuotion? And now yet,
by your good iudgement, he that knoweth
neyther religion, faith no? learning, must
come to comptroll the iudgement, lerning
& faith of the Quenes Maiestie, her Coun-
sell and all her Clergie. What mad absur-
dities are you runne into, to beleue so ap-
parant vntruthes, dissimulations and hy-
pocrisies? The residue of your doltish Cap-
taynes, what be they? think you they be
men able to beare you out against the po-
wer of a P?ince, al her Nobilities Cities,
Realme, subiects, frends and allies? One
with little wit far set, an other in his olde
age wery of his welth, an other a runne-
away with a yong wilde b?aine tickled to
see fashions. Alas, what be these to carry
you th?ough the serious and earnest dan-
gerous enterp?ise that you haue in hand?

They

They are rather méeter to fraye you from it: méete men surely to followe your ominous fatall or vnluckie ensignes, wounds and crosses, the apte and due signes of iust slaughter, or infamous execution.

Owen place.

But yet perhaps some of you haue this meaning that you owe them dutie, and for dutie you will not forsake any danger. If this consideration haue place in any dutie, it hath it chiefly in the highest dutie which you haue despised. A mad excuse it is to say you entred into danger for duty, when the principall dutie did bid you sitte in quiet without danger at all. Euen such a fonde doing of dutie it is, as if one would kill his Father to please his Maister, or rather murder Father, Maister and him selfe to kepe promise with a théefe. What be these duties that may moue you? wey them and compare them. The name of Percies and Neuilles haue long bene honourable and well beloued among you, some of you and your forfathers haue ben auanced by them and their ancestors, some perhaps be knit in kinred, some be tenantes, some be seruants, some be with like causes allied and bound to the meaner Captaines. Greate things be these to moue loue and good neibourhed, and of great importance and efficacie

Pretense of dutie.

ficacie to drawe honest, true and kinde harted men to sticke by their Lords & frends in all wars against the Princes enemies, and in al honest quarels and perilles: but small matters they be, yea no causes at all to draw any man to stand with any man in rebellions and treasons. Is Percie and Neuill more auncient, more beloued and deare vnto you, than your naturall Soueraigne Ladie, the Quéene of England, yea or England it selfe? Doth one small tenancie moue you more than the holding of the whole realme? Is not in all your homages and fealties vnto them, saued your faith and allegeãce to your souerain Lady? This is euen as vntoward a follie, as if a mad fole in a tempest would trauayle to drowne the whole ship to saue one of the mariners cabbens. This is not rightly considered of you.

The common weale is the ship we sayle in, no one cã be safe if the whole do perish. To god, & then to the realme, to the croun, to the law and gouernment, your leaders and you & we all do owe our selues and all that we haue, in highest degrée of dutie. Al other inferior duties are but meanes that these may be the better performed. When now your Captains haue forsaken faith &

dutie to God, naturall loue and dutie to the realme, allegeance and dutie to the Croune, obedience and duetie to lawe and gouernement: it is no following of dutie to followe them against these duties, no thoughe they were your fathers. And that they haue done so you may not beleeue their pretenses, you must beleeue the booke of GOD which you haue troden vnder foote, ye must beleeue the lawes of the Realme which you haue contemptuously broken, you must beleeue the Queenes Maiestie her selfe speaking in her Proclamations, and by the mouthes of her officers, whose gracious voice you haue rebelliously contemned.

Their doings.

Now as I haue compared your smal duties pretended, with your great duties forsaken, compare again your most due duties with your vndue doings. You haue without warrant fro the Q. Maiestie, or any by her authorized, assembled yourselues in forcible maner, adhered to those whom her maiestie hath declared traitors & rebels, you haue leuied war within ỹ realm against the realm, within the Quenes dominions against the Quene, you haue broken the common peace wherby your selues, your families and possessions haue hitherto bene preserued, you haue in your rebellious outrage committed

many

many haynous and horrible factes, you haue destroyed the monumentes of Gods moste holy Communion, you haue torne and defaced the sacred Byble of Goddes moste holy worde, the very pledge of youre saluation, you haue presumed to alter the forme of Christes Religion, you haue in dishonoure of Christes most blissed and onely sufficient sacrifice, sette vp the most abhominable and blasphemous sacrifice of wicked Masse, you haue committed vnnaturall and vyle cruelties vppon Gods Ministers and dispensers of Gods mysteries and of the health of youre Soules, you haue defaced Gods holy ordinance, whereby all mankynde is preserued in chastitie and continued by lawefull encrease, you haue robbed your neyghbours, spoyled and destroyed the Quænes true subiectes, you haue wasted the prouision for your wiues and childzen, you haue vndone your selues. Trow you, this be your dutie, eyther as Christian men, Englishmen, subiectes, tenauntes, husbandes, fathers, neighbours, yea or naturall men?

And when you haue thus done, thynke you to beare it thus away? A piece of the Bishoprike of Durhamme and Richmond shire conteyneth not all Englande. Your courage may be good, I would it were em-

ployed to better causes: your power is but small. You know you are but fewe, weake, vnarmed, vnfurnished to holde out, vnlawfully called, vnskilfully guyded, slenderly prouided for, falsely abused, fondly blinded, your captains not trustie to you, nor bound by any authoritie so to be, youre companie not holden togither by any iuste power but that they may slip away as their luste, their werynesse, their nede, their businesse, hope of pardon or better aduisement may come vppon them, your succoures faile you within and without, youre vittayles in a barren place not like long to endure, the season harde, your lodgings incommodious, your housholdes in perill of famine or destruction in youre absence, no stoare of armoure, Weapon nor Munition, youre number of Horsse though not nowe manie, yet dayly like to be fewer, those necessaries that you haue eyther for defence, inuasion or sustenance being once spente, no way to recouer more, one ouerthrowe destroyeth you wholly, you haue no meane to repaire youre force, you are enclosed round about, no refuge by Lande, no escape by Sea. Are not you in a gay taking? And this you know to be true.

On the other side, beholde the dreadefull

maiestie

maiestie of God the Lord of hostes is displeased with you; the Quenes highnesse, sometime your louing Soueraigne Lady. The Quenes power.
now by your lewdnesse is enforced to be the heuie minister of Gods wrath against you. The whole nobilitie for their dutie, and the rather for reuenge of the dishonorable spots and suspitions sprinkled vpon them by your trayterous proclamations, is earnestly bent to ouerthrowe you, the whole number of her highnesse true subiects ready to die vpon you. the number is great against you, infinitely exceeding your petit multitude: they be furnished of all things necessarie with a princes store and so great store as neuer had any of her auncestors, weapon, armure, shot, pouder, & all sorts of munition, vitail abundance. choise of commodious being, strong holds, one knot of iust authoritie from which the power assembled can not start or seuer, skilfull Captaynes, wise Gouernours, orderly proceding, dayly freshe succoures at pleasure, power to saue and kil by lawe, a wyde and large realme gathered togither, the country round about within hir obeysaunce, a strong Nauie, good & sure frends euen in the next forein part vnto you, the very grounds, colours and fundations of your

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your enterprise be in her Maiesties power, & in al necessities or misfortunes, armie vpon armie to be newe repaired, so as a few victories can not suffise you: finally all aduantages against you infinitely incomparable. Trow you this match be well made: a corner against a Realme, a handfull against hundreds of thousands, want against plenty, foly against policy, nakednesse against armed force, the succourlesse against abundance of ayde, falsehode against truth, one or two doltish mad heads against whole Nobilitie, a few rebelles against all subiectes, the wilde field against strong forts, an vngodly, weake, foolish, destitute, misguided, silly, smal multitude against the wrath of God and power of a Prince? Is it not time for you to be better aduised? Sée you not your perill? or is it not rather so déepe that you can not sée the bottome? Surely it is as déepe as Hell: which though you can not throughly measure it, you may iustly feare it. Dreadfull he is that can send both body and soule into hell fire. Beside all these bodily paynes, the state wherein you stand is the state of damnation, if you die in it there is no recouerie.

Their match compared.

Their danger.

Remember your selues therefore betymes.

mes. For Gods sake, and for youre owne weale euerlastingly, bethinke you of the infinite mercy of almightie God, whereof there is no measure. Repent you of your offending him, embrace his true Religion, heare his worde, learne his will, and follow it. Againe, call to mind how gracious and mercifull a Quæne he hath placed ouer vs: think vppon the great examples of clemencie that she hath vsed, the tender loue that she hath euer shewed to the Realme, the care shée hathe for vs all, the griefe she beareth to lose so many of you that might be better preserued: flæ to that refuge, where is the only hope that is lefte you: make suche amendes as you may, yeld your captaines to iustice, your selues to her mercy, that if for necessarie importance of honour, of president, and of the safetie of her Maiesties person and realme, you must be some examples of iustice, you may recouer yet the possession of eternall life: and if her Maiestie shall extende the excesse of hir clemencie to youre pardon, you may acknowledge it in your truer seruice hereafter, and whether way soeuer it shal please GOD and her highnesse to dispose, you may in life and death teach true obedience, and be examples to re-

Gods mercie.

The Quenes clemencie.

Holsome counsell.

Example.

refrayne your ſelues and all other hereafter from ſo foule ſpot and danger of rebellion. And to this ende, God ſende you his grace.

God ſaue our Queene Elizabeth, and confound her enemies.

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ANNO DOMINI.
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